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Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 001469 TOSEC 250190

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT DAKAR 0027 ACTION SECSTATE 03 JAN 76

QUOTE

S E C R E T DAKAR 0027

NODIS

DEPT PASS SECRETARY

FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELE

DEPT PLEASE REPEAT TO: ABIDJAN, LIBREVILLE, KINSHASA, YAOUNDE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, AO, SG, US
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SECK ON ANGOLA

1. IN JAN. 3 MEETING WITH SENEGALESE FORNMIN SECK, IMMEDIATELY AFTER MEETING WITH SENGHOR, ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELE TRACED HISTORY OF USSR INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA, POINTING OUT CUBAN ROLE AND DESCRIBING US EFFORTS TO HELP MAINTAIN SITUATION ON GROUND LEADING TO NEGOTIATIONS. HE NOTED THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD COME INTO
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PICTURE IN REACTION TO WHAT IT PERCEIVED AS SOVIET/CUBAN MEANCE.

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NO CONSULTATION WITH US HAD BEEN ENTERED INTO BY SOUTH AFRICANS
BEFORE MAKING STEP. IT WAS WORTH NOTING THAT SOUTH AFRICA
APPARENTLY COULD LIVE WITH REGIME IN MOZAMBIQUE BUT FELT OBLIGED
TO TAKE STEPS WHEN CONFRONTED WITH SOVIET THRUST. SCHAUFELE
SAID DOMESTIC DEBATE SHOWED THAT SOUTH AFRICANS, HOWEVER, WERE
CLEARLY NOT COMFORTABLE WITH ANGOLAN INVOLVEMENT. US WAS READY
TO USE ITS INFLUENCE TO PERSUADE SOUTH AFRICA TO WITHDRAW FROM
ANGOLA IN CONTEXT OF WITHDRAWAL OF ALL OUTSIDE FORCES, AND WE
BELIEVED WE COULD BE SUCCESSFUL IF OTHER FORCES WERE REMOVED.

2. SCHAUFELE STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF ADDIS MEETING FROM US POINT
OF VIEW, AND UNDERLINED US SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN SOLUTION. IF GOVERN-
MENT OF NATIONAL UNITY WERE ESTABLISHED, US WOULD BE WILLING TO
HELP, ALONG WITH OTHERS, TO MEET IMMEDIATE RELIEF NEEDS IN ANGOLA.
SEVERAL IDEAS FOR OAU ACTION HAVE BEEN SUGGESTED, SCHAUFELE
SAID, ELEMENTS OF WHICH INCLUDED: (1) CEASEFIRE; (2) CESSATION
OF ARMS SHIPMENTS AND REENFORCEMENT OF MILITARY AND TECHNICAL
PERSONNEL; (3) OAU MEDIATION TO CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS; AND
(4) WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN INTERFERENCE. SCHAUFELE SAID ZAMBIA
HAD PLAN WHICH WAS BEING DISCUSSED RATHER WIDELY, BUT THERE WERE
OTHER PROPOSALS AS WELL. US DESIRED THAT THREE PARTIES IN ANGOLA
FORM GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY. WHAT HAPPENED AFTER THAT--IF
IT DEVELOPED IN ANGOLAN FRAMEWORK--WOULD NOT CONCERN US AS LONG
AS IT NOT BASED ON FOREIGN INTERVENTION. WHILE HE HAD VISITED
FIVE AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE WHO HAD SPOKEN OUT FOR NEGOTIATIONS
ON A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO ANGOLAN SITUATION, SCHAUFELE SAID US
WAS ALSO IN CONTACT WITH OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS. ZAMBIA WAS
ESSENTIALLY IN AGREEMENT WITH EFFORTS TO FOSTER NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT
AND IT HAD APPARENTLY WORKED OUT ACCORD WITH TANZANIA AND
MOZAMBIQUE. NIGERIA AND GHANA, WHILE RECOGNIZING MPLA, HAD NOT
RULED OUT NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. SCHAUFELE SAID US PLANNED TO
CONTINUE DIALOGUE WITH THOSE STATES. PROBLEM NOW WAS THAT MPLA
REFUSES TO NEGOTIATE. SIMPLE APPEAL TO NEGOTIATION BY OAU WOULD
NOT BE ENOUGH; SOME OAU MECHANISM WAS REQUIRED WHICH COULD FORCE
SITUATION.

3. SCHAUFELE TOLD SECK US WOULD CONTINUE TO RESIST SOVIET
THRUST. IN SPITE OF SENATE ACTION, US HAD RESOURCES AND WAS
RESOLVED TO PLAY ROLE WE FOUND NECESSARY TO PROMOTE NEGOTIATIONS.
WHILE US HAD NO SPECIAL INTERESTS IN ANGOLA, WE ARE WORLD POWER
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AND HAVE GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH WE MUST TAKE SERIOUSLY.
WE HAVE BEEN WORKING WITH SOVIETS IN SPIRIT OF DETENTE IN EFFORT
TO DETERMINE RULES OF GAME. IN 1972 US AND USSR SIGNED ACCORD
UNDER WHICH WE AGREED NOT TO EXPLOIT SITUATIONS FOR UNILATERAL
ADVANTAGE. ACTIONS OF SOVIET UNION IN ANGOLA WERE NOT IN KEEPING
WITH THIS ACCORD. IN SITUATIONS SUCH AS THESE WHERE SOVIET UNION
TRIES TO CHANGE EXISTING EQUILIBRIUM, US COULD NOT REST INDIFFERENT.

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4. FORNMIN SECK SAID GOS HAD FOLLOWED SCHAUFELE VISIT CAREFULLY AND HAD GIVEN IT CONSIDERABLE MEDIA COVERAGE. ANGOLAN PROBLEM WAS ONE WHERE US AND GOS HAD VERY SIMILAR POSITIONS AND WERE JOINED IN INTEREST OF PEACEFUL SOLUTION. SENEGAL'S VIEW, SECK SAID, WAS THAT IT
COULD NOT ADMIT FOREIGN INTERVENTION. IF AFRICA COULD NOT HANDLE SITUA-
ION, UN SHOULD SEIZE PROBLEM AND ASSURE FREE CHOICE FOR ANGOLANS. SECK AGREED WITH SCHAUFELE THAT ANRVLA WAS MOST SERIOUS AFRICAN PROBEM SINCE CONGO CRISIS AND WITH IT FUTURE OF OAU WAS AT STAKE. HE FELT ADDIS MEETING WOULD BE DIFFICULT BUT HOPED THAT GRAVITY OF ANGOLAN QUESTION MIGHT BRING WISDOM TO OAU COUNCILS, AND LEAD REPRESENTATIVES TO REDUCE PREACHING AND REACH CONSENSUS. IT WAS CLEAR THAT AFRICA HAD NO REAL FORCE IN FACE OF GREAT POWERS. THIS WAS ANOTHER REASON, SECK FELT, WHY OAU SHOULD NOT BE ESTROYED.

5. GOS HAD SEEN ZAMBIAN PROPOSAL AND SECK FELT SENEGALESE WOULD SUPPORT IT IF IT WERE ADVANCED OPENLY AT ADDIS. SECK BELIEVED NIGERIA SUPPORTED MPLA AS MUCH FOR DOMESTIC AS FOR INTERNATIONAL REASONS. NEW LAGOS REGIME WAS HEAVILY WEIGHTED WITH NORTHERN CONSERVATIVES WHO FELT NEED TO STRIKE PROGRESSIVE IMAGE. SECK EXPECTED VERBAL OFFENSIVE FROM NIGERIA, WHICH WOULD GIVE AID AND COMFORT TO AFRICA'S TRADITIONAL EXTREMISTS, ALGERIA AND GUINEA. HOWEVER, SENEGAL KNEW PRECISELY WHAT IT WANTED AND NO ONE WOULD WREST ITS POSITION AWAY. EITHER OAU WOULD REACH COMPROMISE ON ANGOLAN QUESTION, OR ORGANIZATION WOULD BE FACED WITH MAJOR INTERNAL CONFRONTATION. SENEGAL HOPED LIKE-MINDED AFRICAN STATES WOULD FIGHT AS HARD AS SENEGAL IS PREPARED TO FIGHT.
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